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Tammany Has to Thank the "Chief's" Intellectual Lapses for Its Present Plight.

The municipal campaign which ends to-day sees Tammany more disorganized and demoralized than at any other time in its history. The Tiger has been hard driven and hard hit before now. But never before has a big stake been thrown away with such recklessness by those responsible for Tammany's leadership. That is what makes the rank and file so heart-sick. All the breaks in the campaign have been against Murphy, yet by his own fatal blundering he put the organization in a position in which it was certain to be pounded and almost certain to be stamped.

Three months ago Tammany prospects were rosy. The fusion elements were fighting among themselves. Had Murphy had the intelligence to renounce Mayor Gaynor, so that on the latter's death he might have had the opportunity to replace him with some other Democrat satisfactory to the Gaynor Leaguers, fusion would have faced a difficult, uphill fight. Turning down Gaynor for a Tammany handy man like McCall was a defiant notice to the public that Tammany intended to play for all or nothing, and on the heels of that foolish challenge came Gaynor's death, removing all obstacles to a complete combination of anti-Tammany interests.

The Sulzer impeachment was an even more colossal blunder than the nomination of McCall. Murphy should have known that he could not afford to break with Sulzer. Living in a glass house, Tammany should never have started the stone throwing. The Hennessy disclosures were an inevitable offset to the exposure of Sulzer's activities as a campaign fund collector. It was impossible to wash the Sulzer dirty linen without also dragging the Murphy dirty linen into the wash tub. Murphy's part in the Sulzer impeachment was that of a cheap vendetta leader trying to get revenge on an insubordinate lieutenant. The public has rightly appraised his motives and is only too delighted to see him squirming as the victim of the Sulzer-Hennessy counter revenge.

It is not a comedy of errors, but a tragedy of errors, in which Tammany deliberately cast itself for the villain's part. It is hopeless, helpless and even guiltless now, because it knows that it is suffering not so much for misdeeds committed as for foolishly overadvertising those misdeeds. Its sins are not worrying it half so much as the softening of gray matter which has forced those sins into the limelight. There they are, and Tammany will have to answer for them not only at the polls tomorrow, but in many other fashions before another election rolls around.

Time for an Isthmian Settlement.

Ten years ago to-day occurred the Panama revolution. The ways and means of that episode have been much discussed, and may be, academically, to the end of time. The facts of practical present interest are these: That Colombia lost much by that revolution, that the United States was enabled to gain much, and that therefore the former country feels itself aggrieved and entitled to substantial indemnification.

Colombian logic in the case is not altogether convincing. On grounds of technical law the claims against this country are not to be conceded, nor do they fare better on grounds of equity. By their own admission Colombians sought to compass the confiscation of the French Canal Company's property even more directly than the United States. If their charges were true, would have been aiming at the confiscation of Colombia's isthmian province.

But there are grounds superior to even those of law and equity. After ten years it is certainly high time for a permanent and mutually satisfactory settlement to be effected. It would be most unfortunate to have the controversy still in existence when the Panama Canal is opened. On grounds of generosity and good fellowship, and as the larger and elder of the two countries and the gainer from the revolution, the United States might well afford to waive technicalities and to renew the friendly overtures which Colombia a few years ago failed to accept.

Emigration and Immigration.

It is only a few years since many persons were charging European countries from which there was emigration to America with stimulating the movement in order to rid themselves of undesirable elements in their population. To those who still hold that belief the heading of a recent cable dispatch, "Austria Stops Smuggling of Emigrants to America," must have seemed curious. As a matter of fact, more than one European country contributing largely of its bone and sinew to American industry would have cut off long ago the stream of emigration had it been practicable.

Emigration has depopulated many of the villages of Southern Italy and is robbing the armies of Hungary and Austria of their material. More than a year ago Hungary complained that the emigration of Slovaks from the slopes of the Carpathians had thrown the country back upon the prospering Magyar peasants in the plains and that these were also leaving. Now Austria is striving to stop the exodus of Slavs from the Polish province of Galicia on the ground that they are evading military service. The number who have done this within the year is said to be eighty thousand.

The order to arrest those capable of military service who are seeking to leave is a symptom of one of the notable changes in the character of the stream of American immigration this year. The able-bodied men of Galicia may have desired to

desert their homes because of the prospect of a war against their fellow Slavs in the Balkans, but they were also attracted to this country by the labor conditions prevailing here.

The immigration total for the last fiscal year has been exceeded only once, the increase over the preceding year being more than 40 per cent. The chief increases were among the Slavs and Italians. While the latter did not make a new record for themselves, never before did so many Poles and Russians knock at our gates. There were more than 174,000 of the former and 51,000 of the latter. The newcomers were chiefly laborers. That there is a demand for them exceeding the supply is evident from the fact that the wages for the type of labor which they furnish have risen within a year to \$1.75 and \$2 a day.

Actual Residence and Voting Residence Should Coincide.

Justice Gavegan's ruling that a man's residence for voting purposes should be the place where he lives rather than the place where he does business is supported by common sense. When a voter has two actual domiciles, in one of which he lives a part of the year and in the other another part, he should have, and does have, the right to select the one from which he is to register. Either is properly his legal residence according to his intention.

But when a man lives the year round in one domicile and then tries to register from another, where he carries on a business or has an office address, the purpose of the registration and election laws is being trifled with. A voter is generally better known in the voting precinct in which he maintains his actual residence than he can be in the precinct where he merely has a business address, and the possibilities of fraudulent voting are reduced when he is compelled to register where his domicile is. It is only proper that Assemblymen, aldermen and other officers elected from limited districts should be chosen by those who actually live within the district lines.

Genuine Economy—Fusion Brand.

While Mr. McCall prates of "economy"—Tammany brand—the present fusion Board of Estimate and Apportionment makes up a budget for 1914 only \$284,110 greater than the one for the current year, notwithstanding an increase of \$3,000,000 for maintenance of schools. This is the smallest budget increase registered since the greater city came into being. It means a tax rate for Manhattan four points lower than the present rate of 1.81.

This very genuine and material economy was not accomplished by cutting huge chunks out of department appropriations indiscriminately and crippling the city's business for a year. It was not accomplished by denying proper and necessary appropriations for extending the scope of department activities. It was accomplished by the most careful and painstaking analysis of each item in the budget and the lopping off of each proposed expenditure which could not be justified. In this economy there is no place for favored job holders or grafting contracts. It is fusion economy, not Tammany's brand.

Thrift.

The American Society for Thrift, as its name implies, has undertaken the rehabilitation of an old-fashioned virtue. If it were the American Society for Telling the Truth it could deserve no greater support from the American people; and that, in the heat of the present campaign, is designed as a heart-felt tribute.

Thrift—how quaint the word, how expressive, like the note of the flute, of those simple, good old days of industry and sobriety of mind and body which have contributed so largely to the amazing growth of this great country! Like our forests and our buffalo herds and our natural resources, it can be found flourishing now only in half forgotten nooks.

In seeking to preserve and spread this fast disappearing virtue these new propagandists will have to combat not only a growing habit of extravagance but a well defined intellectual hostility. The more extreme socialists are preaching the futility of thrift and even its wickedness, as it appears to them. The Progressive party, by seeking to perpetuate the great combinations of capital under government sanction and by its advocacy of state pensions, is admitting the inadequacy of thrift as a modern weapon of individual advancement.

Mr. Straus and the seven governors identified with the Society for Thrift must first make plain, therefore, that thrift still enjoys its unique reward under modern conditions; they must align themselves with those who would check monopoly on the one hand or the perpetuation of a laboring class on the other. For thrift has for its sole object the acquirement of capital and can thrive only where such acquirement is each man's privilege.

Four Important Changes in the Constitution Should Be Approved.

The four amendments to the state's constitution on which the voters will be called to pass tomorrow should be approved. Three of them are distinctly important and represent a genuine advance in governmental activities in the interest of the people. The other, while less important, is proper and necessary.

Amendment Number One is the so-called excess condemnation proposal, permitting the Legislature to authorize a municipality in condemning land for a public park or street to take additional land abutting on the proposed improvement. This additional land is to be divided into building sites, which the municipality may sell or lease. Cities should be permitted to make the profit out of the natural appreciation in value of property adjoining a newly completed public improvement which private individuals speculating in real estate make under existing conditions. The system has worked well in European cities, where a large part of the cost of improvements is defrayed in this way; and in Philadelphia and Boston, where it is being tried. This amendment has the approval of the administrations of many of the cities of the state, regardless of politics.

Amendment Number Two permits the Legislature to enact laws to protect the life, safety or health of employees, for the payment of compensation for injuries or death resulting from accidents and for the adjustment of issues arising therefrom. It is designed to meet the situation which caused the Court of Appeals to hold the Wainwright employers' liability bill, enacted in Governor Hughes's administration, unconstitutional because it sanctioned the taking of property without due process of law. This state is without anything remotely resembling satisfactory statutes on this important subject. Eminent lawyers have held that no mandatory law may be enacted until the constitution is amended.

This amendment is intended to help bring New York State up to date in its care for workingmen and their families.

Amendment Number Three permits Kings County to have two additional county judges, and in general provides that the Legislature may enact laws increasing the number of county judges in any county to a number not exceeding one for each 200,000 inhabitants. Kings County needs additional judges to take care of a heavy court business.

Amendment Number Four permits the Legislature to make laws sanctioning the building of water storage reservoirs in the state forest preserve which will flood not more than 3 per cent of the total area of the forest preserve. This stored water may be used as a water supply for municipalities or for generating power. The cost of building the reservoirs is to be apportioned among the cities and individuals benefited and the state is to receive adequate income for the "benefits" thus created in the way of water supply or water power. If the Legislature makes laws adequately protecting the state's interests this proposed change will be wholesome. It will permit the utilization in commerce of much very valuable power now running to waste; it will check disastrous spring floods and produce an income for the state. It will be no detriment to the forest preserve, as about all the land to be flooded is unsightly and unhealthy swamp land.

Voters are inclined to cast their ballots for candidates and ignore the important matters involved in changes in the state's fundamental law. It is to be hoped they will study these amendments carefully and then vote for them.

It will not make much difference after to-morrow whose man he is.

A Stillwell may become also a fountain of information.

The Tiger's boomerang—a rotten egg.

THE TALK OF THE DAY.

A correspondent writes: "In the light of recent disclosures this seems to be the 14th street dialogue:

"1. I am the Chief who has brought thee out of the slums into the Land of Graft.
"2. Thou shalt have no other Chief before me.
"3. Thou shalt not take the name of the Chief in vain, for he will not hold him guiltless that useth his name except for spoils.
"4. Remember Election Day to help the Chief. On that day thou shalt labor, thou and thy son, thy daughter, thy man servant, thy maid servant and the stranger within thy gate, for the Gang.
"5. Honor Tammany and the System, that thy days may be long in the office which the Chief shall give thee.
"6. Thou shalt not commit murder—except it be the reputation of those who offend the Chief.
"7. Thou shalt be faithful always.
"8. Thou shalt not steal—the Bosses will attend to that.
"9. Thou shalt not bear witness against the Gang, even though they be caught with the goods.
"10. Thou shalt not covet thy Leader's house, his automobile, nor his pull with the Chief; take what he gives you and let it go at that. You should worry."

Luck and Industry met on the highway of life. "I understand we are related," remarked Luck. "Yes, in a way," replied Industry. "I am the mother of Success, while you are a distant relative."—Philadelphia Record.

Positions to the number of 150 are filled every month, according to the report of the employment bureau of the West Side Young Men's Christian Association. Recently the phone bell rang and the director of the employment bureau heard a woman's voice over the wire.

"Send me a husband"—she said.
The director gasped, and was about to reply that it was not a matrimonial bureau, when the woman continued:
"—and wife; the man for chauffeur and the wife as housemaid."

"He's running his business on the highway of life. I understand we are related," remarked Luck. "Yes, in a way," replied Industry. "I am the mother of Success, while you are a distant relative."—Detroit Free Press.

BON VOYAGE, CHIEF!



MURPHY—Europe! One way.

THE PEOPLE'S COLUMN

An Open Forum for Public Debate.

RECOGNITION OF HUERTA

It Should Never Be Granted, a Reader Urges.

To the Editor of The Tribune.
Sir: In your editorial, "Mexican Relations at a Crisis," you criticize the President for not having taken "a more resolute and decisive course." Well and good; but your readers are left in the dark as to just what "decisive course" in your estimation he should have taken in the premises.

Among other things you say: "In its unwillingness to instantly condone the murder of Madero and 'in the de jure recognition of its beneficiary our government was unquestionably right.'"

From the injection into this phrase, however, of the qualifying adverb "instantly" one is led to infer that while it would have been wrong to have recognized the traitor and murderer now holding (?) the reins of government in Mexico one month, say, after his ascension to power, the eight months intervening, contrariwise, have sufficed to rob his treachery of its baseness, his murders of their wantonness and his despotism of its cruelty to such an extent as to justify at this time extending to the Huerta regime or its bastard offspring the hand of fellowship hitherto justly withheld.

This inference, though, may be somewhat far-fetched and, I hope, is wholly erroneous, as such a position is hardly congruous with your attitude as recently expressed, to wit, "having declined to condone his crime as the murderer of men, the United States will not concur in his assumption of his country's constitution." But as the election now at hand is in defiance of the Mexican constitution, which, to use your own words, has already been "torn to tatters," this is exactly what the United States would do were it to recognize either Huerta or his dummy.

As I look at it, immediately upon his elevation to office, before recognition had been granted the Huerta regime by the European nations, the President should have recognized Carranza and issued an ultimatum calling for Huerta's abdication, coupled with the threat to utilize the armed forces at his command to that end if necessary. But in delaying matters until midsummer and announcing, contrariwise upon the departure of ex-Governor Lind to treat, hand in hand, with the traitor and assassin that intervention was not contemplated and that he would not recognize Carranza either, the weakness and inconsistency thus displayed by the President, as you intimate, could but lend encouragement to Huerta, with the result that the negotiations were virtually nullified of the force and effect they otherwise might have had.

However, as a result of recent happenings south of the Rio Grande, the President's backbone seems to be undergoing the necessary stiffening process incident to the promulgation of a course not alone resolute and decisive, but consistent as well—glad to say! F. C. LOCKE.
Monticello, N. Y., Oct. 28, 1913.

DOES RABIES EXIST?

An Anti-Visi-sectionist Rejects the Evidence of Science.

To the Editor of The Tribune.
Sir: The letter of "Anti-Visi-sectionist" in The Tribune of Wednesday interested me greatly, especially when so closely followed by the news in Thursday's Tribune that a death had resulted after Pasteur treatment for hydrophobia. In view of these facts, the following passage from the recent autobiography of Sir Henry Smith, K. C. B., late Commissioner of the City of London Police, may not be without interest:

"Years ago there was something like a panic in London, hydrophobia having claimed many victims. No one could have worked harder than I did to discover the victims in question, where they lived and where they died; but I failed to find one solitary case of either illness or death. I went to Bartholomew's, and all

over the place, but the more inquiries I made the more puzzled I became, and one fact—for fact it is—did not tend to make things clearer.
"Never, within the memory of man, has a member of the London police—metropolitan or city—been attacked by the disease." (Page 73.)

In view of the well known immunity of those most accustomed everywhere to handling wild, strange and vicious dogs (and most accustomed to being bitten by dogs), such as policemen and dog catchers, the (about 80 per cent of cases of rabies declared with calm confidence in their method of diagnosis by Pasteur Institute authorities reminds one of the shrewd old dictum:

"There's a screw loose somewhere."
Have any other readers of The Tribune, I wonder, delved among old witchcraft trials and read the evidence so conclusive to the minds of our forefathers? It is strong evidence, especially to a panicky mind—quite as strong, I think, as the evidence for most cases of hydrophobia!

ANOTHER ANTI-VISI-SECTIONIST.
Manchester, Vt., Nov. 1, 1913.

IN THE 31ST DISTRICT

A Republican Reply to the Progressives' Statement.

To the Editor of The Tribune.
Sir: I take the liberty of requesting space in your paper to reply to the arraignment of the Republican organization in the 31st Assembly District by Mr. Prager in your columns.

We are as fully alive to the desirability of defeating the Tammany candidate in our district as our Progressive friends. And we were at all times as anxious to accomplish this purpose as they were. We have not in the past nor do we now propose to conduct a campaign of "mud-slinging." We freely admit that Mr. Schaap's record is fair, but by no means perfect. His vote on the Cochran impeachment was a vicious abuse of the trust reposed in him. How does he explain his connection with Tammany Hall for a number of years and his present standing in the Owassa Club, a Tammany Hall subsidiary?

As a working basis for fusion we submitted to the Progressive leader in the 31st District the name of Samuel Marks for endorsement by them. Some consideration should be ours for being the senior party, and none, not even of the Progressives, dares impeach Mr. Marks's integrity, independence and ability, as displayed by his conduct in the offices of Assemblyman and alderman. Indorsement was refused him. We submitted our proposition to the Progressive organization before the primaries, but it was not until nearly a month after the Republican voters had chosen their candidate at the polls that the Progressives submitted their proposition. It is entirely antagonistic to all Republican principles to vitiate the wishes of the voters as expressed at the primaries, and we refused to be a party to such an invasion of the people's rights, even if their proposition had not been based on the "dog in the manager" policy.

The cheerful predictions of Progressive victory are merely the buoyed up hopes of inevitable losers. The Progressives will not recognize the fact that Straus carried Schaap to victory and not vice versa. The writer is authorized to say for the Republican organization of the 31st Assembly District that to substantiate our belief in Mr. Feinberg's election to the Assembly we will do this: If the Progressive organization will post \$1,000 we will do the same, and the party polling the lesser number of votes will have the satisfaction of giving \$1,000 to charity.

Upon their refusal to fuse, except under those eminently unfair conditions, we re-nominated Mr. Marks for alderman and nominated Aaron A. Feinberg, brother of the president of the Board of Coroners, for Assemblyman.

Let the Progressives prove that their vaunted confidence is based on real faith rather than political hopes. The Republican party will vindicate its policy by electing Aaron A. Feinberg to the Assembly and Samuel Marks to the aldermanic chamber. I. A. SCHILLER.
New York, Oct. 28, 1913.

A PLEA FOR MR. ELKUS

He Is Declared to Possess Every Qualification for the Bench.

To the Editor of The Tribune.
Sir: For the information of voters may I say a word relative to the candidacy of Abraham I. Elkus, nominee for associate judge of the Court of Appeals on the state Democratic ticket?

During the last ten years Mr. Elkus and I have been brought into intimate relations through the work of the Merchants' Protective Association, of which he was counsel and I was president. As such we were constantly dealing with commercial fraud in all its thousand and one ramifications. With sound practical sense and a remarkable degree of constructive ability he devoted himself to securing reforms both in law and procedure, which have very much promoted the welfare of merchants as well as the uprightness of business life and custom. From my acquaintance with the workings of his mind I believe he has the judicial temperament, and from my knowledge of his character I am sure that he possesses an unshakable integrity. His information on matters of commercial and business usage has been acquired by many years of a very large practice along those lines. He has every qualification to justify his choice as a candidate. EDWARD D. PAGE.
New York, Oct. 31, 1913.

IS SUFFRAGE COMING?

An Advocate Finds Humor in the "Antis" Denial.

To the Editor of The Tribune.
Sir: The denial by anti-suffragists that suffrage is coming after it has already come in a territory exceeding one-quarter of the United States in area is a good deal like the remark that the farmer made when he was shown a giraffe for the first time. He immediately exclaimed: "There ain't no such thing!" The "antis" have been astounded by the enfranchisement of Illinois women, including the second largest city in the country. Their denial of the approach of suffrage is merely a characteristic part of their incessant, perennial, unconscious humor, which in trying to put a wet blanket upon human progress only invites public discussion, which paves the way for victory at all future elections. MEMBER NEW YORK AND NEW JERSEY MEN'S EQUAL SUFFRAGE LEAGUE.
White Plains, N. Y., Oct. 29, 1913.

OUR MAN-MADE GOVERNMENT

Could It Be Made Very Much Worse by Women?

To the Editor of The Tribune.
Sir: The president of the New York State Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage rakes up that old saw about the "rottenness" of politics in a town in one of the mining states where women vote. She should look to her own state and city, where men only vote. Some of us think it is not absolutely pure even though the women don't vote.

Our forefathers had to adopt "militant" methods to get their rights from the British which make the militancy in England look like a prayer meeting. Our women are not to be driven to any such extremes to get recognition from their fathers, husbands and brothers. Of course, so long as there are "antis" and bad men women cannot accomplish everything they want to, even with the vote, but surely no one would pretend to imagine that the women, nearly all of whom stand for decency and honesty, are going to make any government worse. They must be powerful if they can make this state or city worse than men have made it. GEO. M. BEERBOWER.
New York, Oct. 23, 1913.

ADMITTED AT LAST.

From The Pittsburgh Post.
The express companies have announced a determination to reduce rates, there will be no longer any doubt that the parcel post is a competitor.